CHAPTER 2

Shaping Nationalism

Figure 2-1 In July 1789, many people in Paris, France, rebelled against the government. They said they wanted liberty and equality for all citizens. In November 2005, young people in some Paris suburbs rioted and burned thousands of cars. They said they wanted equality with other French citizens. The photograph of a firefighter trying to put out a car fire was taken in Paris in November 2005. That same month, Ares, a Cuban artist, created the cartoon on this page to show his thoughts on what was happening in France.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How do external and internal factors shape nationalism?

KEY TERMS

- revolution
- republic
- collective consciousness
- bourgeoisie
- push factors
- pull factors

On October 27, 2005, two teenagers — 15-year-old Bouna Traore and 17-year-old Zyed Benna — died in an electrical relay station in a suburb of Paris, France. They were electrocuted when they tried to hide from French police, who were chasing them. Their families had immigrated to France from former French colonies.

After Traore and Benna died, some young French citizens of immigrant parents in the suburbs of Paris rioted and burned cars. They wanted the same rights and opportunities that other French citizens enjoyed.

Some people agreed that French society discriminated against non-white citizens and immigrants. Non-white citizens and immigrants often have trouble finding jobs. As a result, many end up living in suburban slums and find it difficult to improve their lives.

Examine the photograph and cartoon on the previous page, then respond to the following questions.

- What is the cartoonist's message?
- How does this cartoon relate to nationalism and national identity?
- Do you agree with Ares's view? Why?
- Are similar riots likely to happen in Canada?

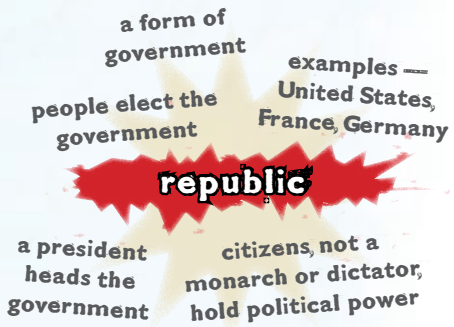
Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will explore how internal and external factors shape nationalism. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- What are some factors that shape nationalism?
- How have people responded to some factors that shape nationalism?
- How have people in Canada responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Jot down words and phrases that express your current ideas about nationalism. If you prefer, sketch some images. Have they changed as a result of reading Chapter 1? Date your ideas and keep them in a journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file. You will revisit them as you progress through this course.



What are some factors that shape nationalism?

Many historians believe that the French Revolution, which started in 1789, was an important turning point in the history of European nationalism. A **revolution** is a major change like the overthrow of one kind of government by people who want a different kind of government. As a result of the French Revolution, the people eventually changed France from an absolute monarchy — a country ruled by an all-powerful king — to a **republic**.

In a republic, the citizens, not a monarch or dictator, hold the power to govern. The government of a republic is supposed to act in the interests of all citizens, not just those who are wealthy and powerful.

Before the revolution, many French people were loyal — faithful and devoted — to the king. He represented their nation. He alone had the right to decide what happened to people. But during the revolution, more and more people began to believe that they were the nation and should make their own decisions. They rejected the idea that a king should make or have the final say on all the decisions.

Before the French Revolution, the French people had one idea of what nation meant. During the revolution, this idea changed. What would you say was the most important difference between these two ideas?

Revolutions like the one in France change the way people think about themselves and their national identity. These changes are often shaped by external factors — outside events and ideas. These external factors can be historical, social, economic, geographic, and political.

But none of these factors exists in isolation. An economic factor can influence a social factor. If people cannot find jobs, for example, they may not be able to live well. A social factor can influence a political factor. People who are unable to live well may look for ways to change their government.

Figure 2-2 King Louis XVI of France in his coronation robes. He was crowned king of France in 1775. At his coronation, people shouted, "Vive le roi!" — "Long live the King!"

Figure 2-3 King Louis XVI was executed in 1793. At this public event, people shouted, "Vive la nation!" and "Vive la république!" — "Long live the nation!" and "Long live the republic!"

Some Historical Factors

No single event can cause a revolution. But a single event can capture a people's imagination and inspire them to take action. For the French, the storming of the Bastille became such an event.

Because King Louis XVI ruled with absolute power, he could jail, punish, and even execute people who spoke out against him. The Bastille was a large prison in a poor part of Paris. It was an armed fortress that came to symbolize the king's power over the people.

On July 14, 1789, about 600 angry Parisians stormed the Bastille and captured this prison. They then set the prisoners free. News of this successful attack on royal authority spread quickly. It inspired people across France to take action against the king and against local nobility. Many people believe that this event marked the start of the French Revolution.

The Bastille as a Nationalist Symbol

Over time, the storming of the Bastille entered the French people's **collective consciousness** — an awareness that many people share. It became a defining moment in their history.

Even today, this event is a powerful symbol for the French. The successful attack on the Bastille has become a central part of the French national myth. Every July 14, Bastille Day is celebrated as a national holiday in France.

The symbolic importance of the storming of the Bastille has extended far beyond France. This story from history reminds people everywhere that ordinary citizens can start a chain of events that can lead to great change.

Read "FYI" on this page. The fact that the Bastille contained no political prisoners has not affected its importance as a symbol of French nationalism. Does this matter? What aspects of the successful attack on the Bastille made this event so important to the French people?

FYI

When Parisian citizens entered the Bastille, they found only seven prisoners — four counterfeiters, two men who had been declared insane, and a young aristocrat who was locked up because he had angered his father.

Figure 2-4 In 2007, France celebrated Bastille Day with a parade of military units down the Champs Élysées while French fighter planes streamed the colours of the French flag.

Figure 2-5 In 1790, Charles Thévenin painted this picture of the storming of the Bastille. At the centre of the painting is the governor of the prison, the Marquis de Launay. The people who captured the Bastille killed him and carried his head through the streets of Paris to celebrate their victory. Two days later, the Bastille was burned to the ground.

Web Connection

To find out more about the causes and effects of the French Revolution, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 2-6 This cartoon was created in 1789, the year the French Revolution began. It shows a commoner carrying an aristocrat and a Roman Catholic clergyman on his back. Cartoons like this helped spread revolutionary ideas throughout France.

If you had been a French commoner, how might the cartoon in Figure 2-6 have influenced your ideas?

Some Social Factors

Social factors refer to the relationships among people in a society. These factors influence the way people from various groups interact with one another. The factors include issues such as

- who should be considered important and who should not
- who should lead and who should follow
- who should be included and who should be excluded
- how groups should work out conflicts and respond to challenges

In some societies, people's roles are set before they are born. This was the case in France before the revolution. The son of a commoner — a peasant, labourer, or businessperson — was likely to remain a commoner all his life. The daughter of an aristocrat — the highest class in French society — would enjoy privileges a commoner's daughter could only dream of.

The king and the aristocrats, or nobility, including high-ranking members of the Catholic Church, held most of the power. The king made and enforced laws. He knew little about the concerns of common people — and could not identify with the difficulties of their daily lives. The aristocrats paid little in taxes, but they collected taxes, rents, and other fees from the commoners. This enabled the ruling elite to accumulate great wealth.

The peasants who lived on an aristocrat's land were required to help repair roads and build bridges. They were not paid for this work. Labourers who worked in the cities as servants and construction workers made very little money. In 1789, 96 per cent of the population of France was made up of commoners.

Changes in Ideas about Society

During the 1700s, France was one of the cultural centres of Europe. In Paris, people of various classes met in cafés and in salons — gatherings that were held in people's homes or in public buildings. They discussed the day's events and the meaning of those events in light of new ideas about individual rights and freedoms. They also discussed their treatment by King Louis XVI, the aristocrats, and the ruling members of the clergy.

They resented having no say in government. They knew that in Britain, where there was a parliament, the monarch did not have absolute power. They also knew that Britain's American colonies had rebelled and formed an independent country — the United States — in 1783. Because France and Britain were bitter enemies, the French had helped the Americans in their fight for independence.

Speaking Out

Freedom of speech was not guaranteed in France in the 1700s. The royal police regularly threw people in jail for saying the wrong thing about the king or aristocrats. To speak against the king was to speak against the nation. Despite the danger, people published their ideas in books, pamphlets, and newspapers — the mass media of the day.

One of the famous writers who attended the Paris cafés and salons was François-Marie Arouet, who wrote under the name Voltaire. He once said, "In general, the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give to another." Comments like this got him thrown into jail. But his fame as a thinker and wit made him — and his writings — very popular. His popularity helped spread a feeling that change was possible.

➲ Voltaire once said that "man is free at the moment he wishes to be." Is this true? How might this comment have increased the French people's desire for change?

A Growing Middle Class

The common people of France included a growing middle class called the **bourgeoisie**. Members of this group often lived in towns and cities. Some members of the bourgeoisie were factory owners, doctors, and lawyers. Others were writers and philosophers, and still others were highly skilled clockmakers and artists who made fine porcelain, elaborate tapestry wall hangings, and other luxury goods for noble houses and royal palaces.

Not only was the middle class growing, but some of its members were also growing rich. With their new wealth, they became educated and welcomed new ideas about liberty and equality. The bourgeosie were also becoming more aware that they were paying most of the taxes that enabled the king and the aristocrats to live in great luxury.

➲ Create a web diagram with the words "People's New Sense of French Nationalism" at the centre. To this, link a bubble labelled "Social Factors." Around this bubble, note various social factors that helped shape new ideas about the French nation.

Figure 2-7 These works show the skill of French artisans. Julien Le Roy and Joseph Baumhauer used bronze and ebony to make the mantel clock on the left. Artisans at the Sèvres factory, just outside Paris, made the porcelain dishes in the centre. Workers at the Gobelin factory, outside Paris, made the tapestry on the right.

Some Economic Factors

During the 1700s, French kings were almost constantly at war with their traditional rival, Britain, and other European countries. These wars were very costly — but not very successful. The cost of building the king's palace at Versailles was another huge economic burden for France.

As a result, France was in an economic crisis by the 1780s. Louis XVI was nearly bankrupt. To raise money, he decided that the people — including French aristocrats — should pay more taxes.

But the aristocrats blocked Louis's plan. He was desperate, so he called a meeting of the Estates General. The Estates General was like a parliament, but it rarely met. In fact, when Louis XVI called the meeting, the Estates General had not met for more than 170 years.

VOICES

You know that [Britain and France] have been at war over a few acres of snow near Canada, and that they are spending on this fine struggle more than Canada itself is worth.

— *Voltaire, in* Candide, or Optimism, *1759*

The Estates General

The Estates General was made up of elected representatives of three separate estates, or social groups:

- First Estate — clergy
- Second Estate — aristocrats
- Third Estate — commoners

The three estates met and voted separately. The majority vote of each estate was then expressed as a single vote. This meant that the First and Second Estates could always outnumber the Third Estate by 2 to 1.

When the Estates General met in June 1789, Louis XVI planned to persuade them to approve new taxes. But his plan backfired. The representatives of the Third Estate wanted to change the system by demanding one vote for each representative instead of one vote for each estate.

On June 20, members of the Third Estate, as well as some clergy who had joined them, tried to meet. But the door to their hall was locked. They suspected that the king had locked them out and rushed to a nearby indoor tennis court. There, they declared themselves the National Assembly and swore the Tennis Court Oath. They said that they were the only group who represented the nation, and they vowed to stay put until they had created a constitution that set out equal rights for all men.

At the same time, news that Louis was gathering troops for an attack began to spread.

These two events inspired Parisians to storm the Bastille a few days later. They were searching for gunpowder. As news of what was happening in Paris spread, people in other parts of France rose up against the aristocrats and clergy who had controlled them. The revolution had started.

To the web diagram you started earlier, link another bubble labelled "Economic Factors." Around this, note the economic factors that helped shape new ideas about the French nation.

FYI

The Seven Years' War was one of Louis XV's costliest defeats. This war (1756–1763) involved Canada, then known as New France, where the British won an important victory at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The treaty of 1763 that ended the war officially gave nearly all of New France to the British — and changed the course of Canadian history.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

According to French tradition, the people presented *cahiers de doléances* — lists of complaints — to delegates to the Estates General. The *cahiers* also suggested solutions to the people's problems. When Louis XVI called the meeting of the Estates General in 1789, people in cities, towns, and villages across France began discussing and writing their *cahiers*.

The *cahiers* show how deeply divided French society was in 1789. The following are excerpts from a few of them.

From **Ménouville**, a rural community near Paris

> We beg His Majesty to have pity on our farmland because of the hail we have had.
>
> Also we have a great deal of waste land which is covered with juniper, and this causes much trouble on account of the rabbits which are very numerous; it is this that makes us unable to pay the dues we owe to His Majesty . . .
>
> We have one small meadow which only produces sour hay. The animals refuse to eat it. This is why we cannot raise stock . . .
>
> We state that there should not be any tax men; there could be a levy [tax] put on drinks so that everyone would be free.

From **the clergy of Blois**, a town southwest of Paris

> The clergy of . . . Blois have never believed that the constitution needed reform. Nothing is wanting to assure the welfare of king and people except that the present constitution should be religiously and inviolably observed.

From **the bourgeoisie of Lauris** in southern France.

> To close off employment possibilities and respectable occupations to the most numerous and useful class [the bourgeoisie] is like killing genius and talents, and forcing them to run away from an ungrateful home. However, in our current constitution, only nobles enjoy all [privileges] like landed wealth, honours, dignities, graces, pensions, retirements, responsibility for government, and free schools . . . These [privileges] constitute the favours the State lavishes exclusively on the nobility, at the expense of the Third Estate.

From **the nobles of Dourdan**, south of Paris

> The nobility requests that individual liberty be assured and guaranteed . . . Liberty shall be understood to include the right to come, go, live, and reside wheresoever one pleases, inside or outside the kingdom, without need of permission . . .
>
> That no citizen be deprived of his rank, employment, or position, except according to a legal judgment.
>
> That all property, whoever be the owner, be inviolable and sacred [that is, it cannot be taken away].

EXPLORATIONS

1. Create a chart like the one shown. On the chart, list each of the four groups and its request(s) to the king. Then note whether you think the king will say yes or no to the request — and why.
2. Write a series of points explaining how the requests in these documents show the great divide between the three estates.

Group	Request	Yes or No	Why

Some Geographic Factors

In 1789, Louis XVI was worried about paying for his lifestyle. Some members of the bourgeoisie were worried about gaining some power in government. Some high-ranking clergy and aristocrats were worried about losing privileges. But many French peasants and labourers were worried about the weather.

Because of bad weather, the harvest of 1788 had been very poor. Then the winter of 1788–1789 was bitterly cold. Snow blocked roads and made trade and travel difficult. When the snow melted, some areas flooded. That spring and summer, parts of France suffered a drought — a long period of dry weather.

These weather conditions destroyed grain crops and created a flour shortage, so the price of flour rose. Higher prices meant that many people who were poor could not afford to buy bread, which was their main food.

Bread and Revolution

When the price of bread went up, as it did in the summer of 1789, peasants and labourers might spend up to 90 per cent of their wages on bread. Riots over the price of bread had occurred in 1768, 1770, and 1775. As a result, a supply of affordable bread was considered necessary to maintain public order in France. The people believed that keeping bread affordable was the responsibility of those who governed.

By October 1789, many people were desperate. On the morning of October 5, crowds of women gathered in the markets of Paris and set out for Versailles, the home of King Louis XVI. They planned to ask the king, as leader of their nation, to help them.

When they arrived at Versailles, the women first demanded bread and then that the king and his family return with them to Paris to make sure the king kept his promise to help them. The king agreed. By the time they reached Paris the next evening, the procession numbered 60 000. The king never returned to Versailles.

Figure 2-8 On October 5, 1789, many Parisian women walked 25 kilometres to Versailles and arrived there early in the evening. They carried whatever weapons they could find and dragged along a cannon. What caption would you write for this picture?

VOICES

You have to be a mother and have heard your children ask for bread you cannot give them to know the level of despair to which this misfortune can bring you.

— Elisabeth Guénard, Baronne de Méré, French novelist, 1789

FYI

In August 1788, Parisians paid nine sous for a two-kilogram loaf of bread. By February 1789, the price had risen to 14.5 sous. Yet a labourer who was lucky enough to have full-time work might earn only 20 to 35 sous a day.

Is rebelling justified if people cannot feed themselves and their families?

Some Political Factors

In the months leading up to the revolution, many French people did not feel a common national identity. Many members of the Third Estate were frustrated by their lack of political power. They had begun to think of the government — run by the king and aristocrats — as "them." Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, a senior church official who had joined the Third Estate, expressed this feeling in a pamphlet. In it, he said: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing."

The Third Estate's lack of political power could be seen in the Estates General, where each estate had one vote. The First and Second Estates — the aristocrats and the clergy — usually voted together. How might this situation have created a strong desire for change in France?

By late summer 1789, the newly formed National Assembly had created a document called the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This declaration took away the traditional privileges enjoyed by the king, the clergy, and the aristocracy. It said that the role of government is to preserve the rights of the people.

Picturing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

Figure 2-10 **The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible [unchangeable] rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.**

A woman sells fish at a market in La Flotte en Ré, a village on an island off the Atlantic coast of France. Both the fish and the stall are her property. Under French law, she has the right to make her living by selling her fish.

Figure 2-9 **Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.**

These citizens — both women and men — voted for members of the French National Assembly on June 10, 2007. All French citizens 18 years of age and older can vote in national elections.

Figure 2-11 **The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body or individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.**

Members of the French National Assembly meet in Paris in 2007. The French Constitution says that the democratically elected members of the assembly represent the people of France as a civic nation.

Figure 2-12 **Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else . . . These limits can only be determined by law.**

After the riots in Paris suburbs in October and November 2005, some citizens demonstrated to make sure that all citizens enjoy equal rights. Their banner says that they reject violence. "Liberté, égalité, fraternité," the words along the bottom of the banner, mean "Liberty, equality, brotherhood." This slogan first became popular during the French Revolution.

Threats from Outside France

The rulers of other European countries worried that the revolutionary ideas that had taken root in France would spread. They feared that what was happening in France would also happen to them. In response, they sent forces to invade France and restore King Louis XVI to power, but France's revolutionary army successfully fought off the invaders.

Do you think the invasions would strengthen or weaken French nationalism? Why? How might the revolutionary army's success in driving off the invaders have affected French nationalism?

Politics of Terror and Fear

In response to the outside threats, and to international threats from anyone hoping to see the king return to the throne, the revolutionary leaders executed Louis XVI early in 1793. This action shocked many French people, and some began to speak out against the revolutionary leaders.

As a result, the leaders began a brutal crackdown that became known as the Reign of Terror. The Reign of Terror lasted for about 11 months in 1793 and 1794. One of the first victims was Queen Marie Antoinette, who was executed in October 1793.

About 200 000 people were arrested, and about 17 000 were sentenced to die by the guillotine, a machine that chopped off people's heads. Some were executed because they were aristocrats or expressed support for the king. Others were killed because they expressed views that the revolutionary councils did not agree with.

Olympe de Gouges was one of those who were executed because of their views. In 1791, she challenged the ideals set out in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. She pointed out that the declaration did not include women — and wrote a pamphlet titled *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen* to correct what she viewed as an injustice. This was enough to send her to the guillotine in 1793.

Figure 2-13 The First Article of the Two Declarations

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

Article 1: Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the common good.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen

Article 1: Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Return to the web diagram you started earlier. Add a bubble labelled "Historical Factors," another labelled "Geographic Factors," and a third labelled "Political Factors." Around each bubble, note historical, geographic, and political factors that helped shape new ideas about the French nation.
2. Rank each factor on your web diagram in order of importance from most to least. State the criteria you used to identify the most important and the least important.
3. Think about Canada today. Do the factors you chose as most and least important influence nationalism in Canada? If so, how? If not, why not?

How have people responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

Think about the Canadians you admire. They may be community leaders, actors, musicians, or athletes.

You may take pride in the achievements of these Canadians. This pride may inspire you to feel a greater sense of national identity and nationalism. If this is the case, it means you have internalized your feelings of nationalism.

Nationalism and Remembering

The glue that holds together a community or a nation is often made up of shared memories — of friendship, kindness, acceptance, belonging, support, sacrifice, courage, struggle, and success.

As revolutionary ideals took hold in France, French people developed a collective consciousness that grew out of their shared memory of — and shared pride in — specific events. This often happened even if people had not been involved in the event. The capture of the Bastille is an example of a powerful symbol shared by many French people.

The revolutionary slogan — "Liberté, égalité, fraternité!" — also became a national symbol. And the marching song "La Marseillaise" became France's national anthem in 1795. It had been written in 1792, when foreign armies were trying to invade France.

Clothing can also become a powerful symbol that helps people share a collective sense of belonging. Soon after the Bastille was stormed, people started wearing red, white, and blue cockades, or badges, to identify themselves as revolutionaries. This cockade became such a powerful symbol that its colours were later chosen for the French flag.

National Stories and Realities

A nation's myths — the stories about its history — are often told by the dominant cultural group. In some cases, citizens begin to notice that these stories do not match the current reality. In 1789, French citizens rejected an absolute monarch and decided to base their idea of nation-state on the principles of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. But today, some French citizens question whether these words truly symbolize their nation. They do not believe that all French citizens are treated equally and have the same rights.

In the past, French people — like people in many countries — subjected many groups of immigrants to discrimination. French citizens from France's former colonies, such as French West Africa, Algeria, and Tunisia, have experienced racism more recently.

VOICES

La Marseillaise

Let's go, children of the fatherland,
The day of glory has arrived!
Against us tyranny's
Bloody flag is raised!
. . . .
To arms, citizens!
Form your battalions!
Let us march! Let us march!
May impure blood
Water our fields!

— Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a captain in the French army, 1792

Figure 2-14 Before the French Revolution, the style of pants that men wore often showed the class they belonged to. Common people wore trousers, or long pants, while aristocrats wore *culottes*, or knee breeches. Once the revolution began, more men wore trousers to show that they shared the goals of the revolutionaries.

Figure 2-15 The red, white, and blue cockade became a national symbol during the French Revolution. The cockade's colours are those of the French national flag, carried here by Antoine Dénériaz when he won a gold medal for France at the 2006 Winter Olympics. Why do you think so many Olympic champions celebrate victory by waving their country's flag?

GEOREALITY

Immigrants in France — Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity?

The two teenagers — Bouna Traore and Zyed Benna — whose deaths sparked the 2005 riots in France were French citizens. Their families, who had migrated from former French colonies in Africa, are among about seven million immigrants who live in France. Most are from the country's former African colonies.

Both **push factors** and **pull factors** can cause people to migrate.

- Push factors — Conditions, such as war and poverty, that drive people away from a place.
- Pull factors — Conditions, such as equal rights and job opportunities, that attract people to a place.

The movement of large numbers of people from one area often changes the way people think about their national identity. In the case of France, this migration has started a debate about the French national identity.

Historical Push and Pull Factors

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, France controlled many colonies in Africa. At the time, the European powers believed that they had the right to take over African land and resources.

The French colonizers gave little thought to the liberty, equality, and brotherhood of the Indigenous peoples in their colonies. They were more interested in recruiting Africans to work on French-owned farms and in mines.

Colonization often forced Africans out of their own territory. They could no longer carry on their traditional way of life — and sometimes had no choice but to leave to find work with the French colonizers. Their living and working conditions were often poor, bordering on slavery.

Figure 2-16 Central and Northern Africa, 1914 and 2008

To see a more detailed map of Africa, turn to the map appendix.

From the end of World War II in 1945 until 1974, Africans in French colonies were encouraged to go to France to provide the cheap labour needed to help rebuild the country. Many of these guest labourers became French citizens.

Economic Push and Pull Factors

In colonial times, many African workers became used to migrating from place to place to earn a living. When the people of France's African colonies gained independence during the 1950s and 1960s, they formed countries of their own. The colony called French West Africa, for example, became a number of countries, including Mali, Bénin, Niger, Sénégal, and Mauritania.

Many of the new countries went through economic hard times. Unemployment was high and many people were poor. As a result, many people believed that moving to France promised a better future.

Figure 2-17 Life in France and Two Former French Colonies, 2007

Country	GDP* per Person ($U.S.)	Life Expectancy at Birth	Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 births)	Doctors per 100 000 People
France	$33 800	80.6 years	3.4	337
Tunisia	$7500	75.3 years	23.0	134
Mauritania	$1800	53.5 years	68.1	11

* *GDP: Gross domestic product — The value of all the goods and services produced in a country in a year.*

Political Push and Pull Factors

People in many of the newly founded African countries also faced political unrest and civil war. In some countries, the ruling ethnic group still persecutes people from other groups. To escape, many Africans immigrated to France — but they found that they were not always welcomed.

In 2007, the government of newly elected president Nicolas Sarkozy passed a law that makes it harder for immigrants to become French citizens. Africans from former French colonies can immigrate only if they have skills and talents that will help the French economy. Many French people worry that new laws encourage discrimination and support people who believe in "France for the French."

Gerard Noiriel, a French historian, said the government should not try to impose a national identity. "There is no official definition of national identity," he said. "Identity is built in daily life by the people themselves. It is above all not for the state to say what national identity should be."

Social Push and Pull Factors

Many French colonizers believed that African languages, traditions, and national identities had little value. Africans were encouraged to speak French and to adopt French beliefs and ways of life.

As a result, African ways of life were often destroyed. Families were frequently split up as fathers or mothers went to work far from home. Many people lost their traditional identity but felt shut out of the French national identity.

Many French people believe that their society discriminates against non-white citizens and immigrants. In 2007, the European Union conducted a survey of people in various countries, including France. The goal was to find out what people thought about levels of discrimination in their country. The responses of French people are shown in Figure 2-18. The results indicate serious concerns about inequality in their society.

Figure 2-18 Survey Responses in France, 2007

Survey Statement	Percentage of French People Who Agreed
Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is widespread	80%
Discrimination on the basis of religion is widespread	63%

Immigration Factors		
Factor	Classification (Push or Pull)	Reason for Classification

EXPLORATIONS

1. Identify five factors that have influenced citizens of former French colonies to migrate to France and record them on a chart like the one shown. Classify each as a push factor or a pull factor. In each case, explain the reason for your classification.
2. Do the survey responses in Figure 2-18 give non-white immigrants to France reason to hope that the situation will improve or to lose hope that the situation will ever improve? How do you think this hope — or lack of hope — might affect their sense of national identity? Explain your response.
3. Examine the statements in Figure 2-18. Suppose a similar survey were taken in

   a) your community
   b) your province
   c) across Canada

   In each case, predict the percentage of people who would agree with the statements. Give a reason for each prediction.

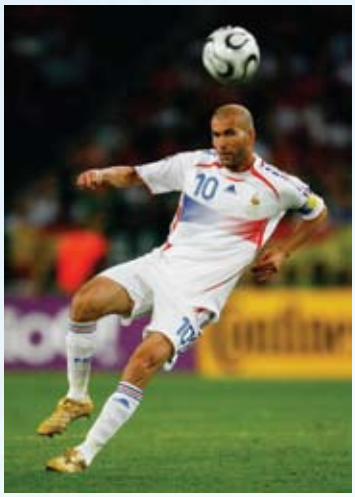


Figure 2-19 Zinédine Zidane, captain of France's 2006 World Cup soccer team, is the son of Algerian immigrants. In 2001, he became a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations Development Programme. He has persuaded other famous soccer players to help him raise money to reduce world poverty by playing special soccer matches.

Changes in National Identities

Over time, various historical, geographic, political, economic, and social factors shape the way people think of themselves and their national identity. When a people's national identity seems to be changing, it may spark heated debate and even conflict.

Many French people, for example, take pride in their country's reputation as a secular — non-religious — society. They honour the principle of separating the church and state. But some people began to suggest that the country's Muslim minority was threatening this idea of France. This suggestion sparked heated debate that focused on whether Muslim girls should be allowed to wear hijabs — headscarves — in school.

In 2004, the government passed a law that forbids the wearing of "conspicuous" religious apparel in state schools. The banned clothing includes Muslim headscarves, as well as Jewish yarmulkes, Sikh turbans, and large Christian crosses. Some young Muslim women welcomed the ban because they said Muslim men had pressured them into wearing the hijab. But other people said that the ban amounts to discrimination.

Meanwhile, in Créteil, a Paris suburb, the municipality is helping its Muslim community build a large mosque complex. The complex will include a restaurant, bookstore, library, exhibition hall, and study rooms that will be open to everyone. Karim Benaissa, head of the Créteil Union of Muslim Associations, said, "This mosque is more than just an acknowledgment of our religion. It's an acknowledgment of a city towards its citizens."

Figure 2-20 Yilmaz Karaman, an immigrant from Turkey, stands in front of his Paris restaurant, Chez Diyar. To promote his restaurant, Karaman composed a song and made a video, "Mange du kebab" — "Eat Kebabs." When the video drew more than 400 000 hits on YouTube, EMI decided to release the song as a single. How did Karaman combine French and Turkish culture to change what it means to be a citizen of France?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Create a three-column chart like the one shown at right. The first column lists factors that can cause migration. In the second column, provide an example that you have read about in *Understanding Nationalism* and classify it as a push or pull factor. In the third column, provide an example from your Canadian experience. To help you get started, one example has been filled in.
2. Which factors — historical, geographic, economic, political, or social — play the biggest role in shaping people's sense of national identity? Explain your choice.

Migration Factors and Examples

Factors	Example from *Understanding Nationalism* Push or Pull?	Canadian Example
Historical	Colonies uprooted Indigenous peoples. (Push)	Colonization in Canada forced First Nations to live on reserves.
Geographic		
Economic		
Political		
Social		

How have people in Canada responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

Like other peoples, Canadians respond to national myths that give them a sense of who they are. One myth that is part of the collective consciousness of many Canadians is the story of building the Canadian Pacific Railway. John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, dreamed of an iron road that would link the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The CPR played a key role in creating a country that extended from sea to sea. Macdonald's promise to British Columbia that the railway would be built was an important reason for this province's decision to join Confederation in 1871.

Figure 2-21 Canada's railway companies, including the CPR, created posters to attract passengers. In 1925, the CPR used this poster to attract tourists to the West. Do you think this poster built on an existing national myth? Or did it help create a new one?

The Railway and Canadian National Identity

The builders of the Canadian Pacific Railway faced great challenges. They had to cross mosquito-infested swamps, the Western plains, and mountain ranges. When the railway was finished, many Canadians believed that they had proved something — that they could overcome huge obstacles. This view helped make the railway a national symbol.

In his song "Canadian Railroad Trilogy," singer-songwriter Gordon Lightfoot paid tribute to the navvies — workers — who struggled to build the railway. Their struggle has not usually been included in this national story.

Among the navvies who built the track through the Rocky Mountains were 6000 Chinese labourers. They had been recruited to work on this dangerous stretch. Avalanches, rock slides, and cave-ins were common. In the first year alone, 200 of them died of injuries and diseases such as scurvy. Despite the danger, the Chinese navvies earned less than half the wages of other workers.

The National Dream

In 1970, Pierre Berton, a well-known Canadian writer, helped support the myth by writing a book about building the CPR. He called his book *The National Dream*. Like Lightfoot, Berton told the story of the "thirty thousand sweating labourers — French and English, Scots and Irish, Italians and Slavs, Swedes and Yankees, Canadians and Chinese — who, in just four years and six months, managed to complete the great railway and join the nation from sea to sea."

For many Canadians, building the CPR was heroic. It showed how determination can win out over a harsh environment. How does the fact that the navvies suffered affect the way you view this Canadian myth?

Canadian Railroad Trilogy

There was a time in this fair land when
the railroad did not run

When the wild majestic mountains
stood alone against the sun . . .

We are the navvies who work upon the
railway

Swingin' our hammers in the bright
blazin' sun

Layin' down track and buildin' the
bridges

Bending our backs till the railroad is
done.

— Gordon Lightfoot, first performed on January 1, 1967, Canada's centennial year

Is listening to and believing in national myths like believing in Santa Claus?

Challenges to Canadian Myths

Is it the duty of every new generation to challenge Canada's national myths?

At the beginning of the 20th century, people of British heritage formed the dominant cultural group in Canada. The background of more than half the population was British. British history was taught in schools, and Canada had no official flag of its own. The British flag was used. As a result, many of Canada's stories were shaped by people whose worldview was British.

Then immigrants from non-British countries, Francophone Canadians, and Aboriginal peoples began to tell their stories and histories. As they affirmed their identities, they challenged the idea that Canada was British.

They also challenged some of the myths that had become part of the collective consciousness of many Canadians. Stories of "discovering" Canada's West and carving a national railway out of the "wilderness" are examples.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Victoria Callihoo
The Métis Queen Victoria

Figure 2-22 Victoria Callihoo's family background included Cree and Métis. She and her husband, Louis Callihoo, had 12 children. They had a farm, but also operated a sawmill and hauled freight between Edmonton and Athabasca Landing.

Victoria Callihoo was in her 90s when she realized that she was one of the last Métis to remember a way of life that had vanished from Alberta. She wanted other Métis to remember their nation's proud history. To ensure that the old stories were not lost, she decided to write them down.

Callihoo was born in 1861 in Lac Ste. Anne, a Métis community in what would become Alberta. She took part in her first buffalo hunt when she was 13.

In one of her articles, Callihoo described the great buffalo herds as a dark, solid, moving mass. "We, of those days, never could believe the buffalo would ever be killed off, for there were thousands and thousands," she wrote.

Callihoo was proud of her Métis culture — and her writing reflected this pride. She said that she enjoyed the challenges of traditional life, such as spending days making pemmican and preparing buffalo hides.

Besides writing about her own experiences, Callihoo also recorded the stories of her people. These stories had passed into her people's oral tradition. She had heard them as a child and did not want them to be lost.

Among the Métis, Callihoo became a respected historian. They called her the Métis Queen Victoria. When she died in 1966 at the age of 104, she was deeply mourned.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Why did Victoria Callihoo decide to tell about her experiences?
2. How would Callihoo's stories help Métis people understand their national identity? How might these stories change Canadians' sense of themselves?
3. Imagine it is 80 years from now, and you have an opportunity to tell the story of an important aspect of Alberta life in the early 21st century. What story would you choose? Why?

First Nations and Métis Nationalism

In 1968, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said he had a vision for the country. He wanted Canada to become a "just society." In this society, everyone would have equal rights and opportunities.

As one step toward a just society, Trudeau and Jean Chrétien, who was minister of Indian affairs at the time, published a white paper — or proposal — calling for an end to all treaty rights for Aboriginal people. This meant getting rid of reserves, payments, and resource rights. Aboriginal peoples would have the same status and rights as other Canadians.

Are politicians who change their minds showing weakness and a lack of vision?

The Unjust Society

Aboriginal leaders were outraged by the Trudeau–Chrétien proposal. First Nations viewed it as a strategy to get out of treaty obligations and to assimilate them into Canadian society.

Harold Cardinal, an Alberta Cree leader, responded by writing a book titled *The Unjust Society*. In it, Cardinal said that taking away Aboriginal peoples' treaty rights would take away their national identities. Cardinal's book reflected the growing political strength of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples and their desire to seek self-determination and self-governance. He wanted Aboriginal peoples to have greater control over their own lives, their organizations, their education, and their laws.

Cardinal's book became a bestseller and inspired heated debate over the Trudeau–Chrétien proposal. This debate changed ideas about Canada.

- For Aboriginal people, it was a call to affirm their status as nations. For decades, Aboriginal peoples had endured poverty and assimilation. Cardinal's book inspired in them a new determination to promote their national identities as First Nations, Métis, and Inuit.
- Trudeau was persuaded to adopt Cardinal's key recommendations. As a result, the 1982 Canadian Constitution recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights.

Chief Dan George was the leader of the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation in British Columbia. In 1967, he said, "My nation was ignored in your history textbooks." Today, it is widely acknowledged that Canada was built by three founding peoples: Aboriginal, French, and British. Think about your history textbooks. Would George's comment apply to the same extent today? Why is it important for a people's stories to be told in textbooks and elsewhere?

Figure 2-23 Harold Cardinal, standing, confronts Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. This 1970 meeting was one of the first times Aboriginal leaders and cabinet ministers had met face to face. Cardinal, who was just 25 years old at the time, was the leader of the Indian Association of Alberta. Write a caption that captures the importance of this meeting.

Figure 2-24 Nunavut

To see Nunavut in Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 2-25 Jordin Tootoo of the Nashville Predators is a source of pride to the people in his hometown of Rankin Inlet, Nunavut. When Tootoo played on Team Canada at the 2002 World Junior Hockey Championship, a fan showed support by waving the Nunavut flag. What nationalistic feelings was this fan expressing? Were these feelings anti-Canadian or an affirmation of Canadian identity?

CheckForward >>>

You will read more about Québécois nationalism in Chapters 3, 4, 13, 15, and 16.

Some Inuit Perspectives on Nationalism

The political experience of the Inuit was different from that of other Aboriginal people in Canada. The Inuit never signed treaties, and they were able to follow their traditional ways until well into the 20th century.

But by the 1930s, animal populations — especially caribou — were declining. The loss of important food supplies meant that many Inuit faced starvation. This was one reason the federal government decided to move them to central communities.

This move ignored the importance of the Inuit way of life. This was built on sharing and focused on their relationship to the land. This relationship was expressed by Mariano Aupilardjuk, an Elder from Rankin Inlet. He said, "The living person and the land are actually tied up together because without one the other doesn't survive and vice versa."

Relocation and other government policies created many social problems. Many people had trouble adjusting to their new lives.

Many Inuit began to believe that achieving self-government was the only way to solve these problems. They began working toward this goal. A huge step was taken in 1999, when the Nunavut land claim was settled. This agreement created the new territory of Nunavut, which means "our land." It gave Nunavut's 30 000 people a form of self-government.

Nunavut has become an important symbol to other Aboriginal people who are trying to achieve self-determination. Does the fact that the people of Nunavut enjoy a degree of self-government weaken or strengthen their sense of nation? Explain the reasons for your response.

Québécois Nationalism

When Britain won the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759, the course of Canadian history changed. At the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Britain took over France's North American colonies.

Until that time, the dominant culture in Québec had been French. After that, English-speaking people began moving into the province, and settlers from Britain came to Canada in very large numbers. Since then, Francophones in Québec have struggled to maintain their language, culture, and identity in a largely anglophone — English-speaking — country.

Some people believe that the different histories of anglophones and Francophones have deeply affected the worldviews of Canadians. In 2000, historian Michael Ignatieff wrote that Canada's national experience had been confused — and enriched — "by the fact that English and French Canada do not share the same history of 1759."

Tension between Anglophones and Francophones

The struggle of Francophone Québécois, as well as Francophones in all parts of Canada, to affirm and promote their language, culture, and identity in a largely anglophone country has helped them develop a strong sense of themselves as a nation.

The tension between anglophones and Francophones has left its mark on Canada. Describing this tension, Ignatieff wrote: "It is sentimental illusion to suppose that the two communities will ever agree on what it means. At best, we will agree to disagree; we will continue the argument. And the argument — provided it remains civil — will not prevent us from living together and sharing political institutions."

Do you believe, like Ignatieff, that agreeing to disagree is the best Canadians can hope for?

Taking Turns

Have your people's stories helped shape Canadian nationalism?

The students responding to this question are Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10.

Violet

I'm Métis, but people sometimes wonder why I have an English name. My ancestors were Cree and English, not French like so many other Métis. They worked in the fur trade for the Hudson's Bay Company. And my great-great-great grandfather helped build the North West Mounted Police fort in Calgary before it was a city. He also transported goods from Fort Garry — that's Winnipeg today — to Fort Edmonton. Seeing as the fur trade and the Mounties are both symbols of Canada, then I'd say, yes, my people's stories helped shape Canadian nationalism.

My great-great-great grandfather was one of the navvies who helped build the CPR. So his story certainly helped shape Canadian nationalism. You hear lots about people like John A. Macdonald and his big dream of a railway across Canada. But do you know about the workers who built this country, railway tie by railway tie? They should teach this in school. This isn't really a big deal for me, because I just live my life — but I sure hate it when people whose families haven't been here as long as mine think I'm an immigrant.

Pearl

Rick

My family hasn't been in Canada that long, so I can't really say that my people's stories shaped Canadian nationalism in the past. But I can say that our story is shaping Canadian nationalism right now. We came to Canada as immigrants, just like many other Canadians. We're building a civic nation where people are proud to live together. So I would say that my family — just like lots of other immigrant families — is building a new story that will make Canadian nationalism richer.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Violet, Pearl, and Rick are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In the years before the French Revolution, *The Marriage of Figaro* was a highly popular play in France. It was written by Pierre Beaumarchais, the son of a watchmaker. *Figaro* was first staged in Paris in 1784. In the following excerpt, Figaro, a servant, imagines what he would like to say to his employer, a Spanish aristocrat:

> Just because you're a grand nobleman, you think you're a grand genius! Nobility, riches, a title, rank; how proud they all make a man! What have you done to earn such fortune? You went through the trouble of being born, and nothing else. Otherwise you're an ordinary man. Whereas I, for God's sake, was born lost in obscurity. Just to survive I had to use more knowledge and skill than every Spanish aristocrat for the last hundred years put together.

   a) What is Figaro raging about? Why is he so angry?

   b) Why might this play have been popular in France in 1784?

   c) Explain how a play could become a factor encouraging revolution and shaping nationalism.

   d) Think of another artist who expresses criticisms of a nation. Chuck D, for example, leads the American hip-hop group Public Enemy. This group performs songs that are critical of the United States and North American society. Your choice could be a poet, a playwright, a novelist, or a musician.

   e) On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not very important; 5 = very important), rate the importance of artists in shaping your identity. Explain your rating.

   f) Rewrite the excerpt from *Figaro* as a four-line rap lyric. Keep in mind the conventions of rap: include rhyme, add alliteration, and make sure there is rhythm.

2. Conduct a survey to discover how important various symbols are to the national identity of Canadians. Interview at least 10 people — classmates, friends, family members, and so on. Ask each to rate the importance of the Canadian symbols you selected and record their responses on a chart like the one shown at the bottom of this page. You may also wish to ask the people you are interviewing to identify an important symbol that you have not included on your list.

   Compile the results and present your findings in an oral or written report.

3. In this chapter, you explored many ways that external and internal factors shape the development of nationalism. On the basis of your current understanding of nationalism and the factors that shape it, write a response to the chapter issue: How do external and internal factors shape nationalism? You may qualify your answer if you are undecided or have doubts about your response to the issue.

Canadian Symbols and Canadian Identity Survey

Symbol	Not Important at All	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Another Important Symbol
Interview 1					
Interview 2					

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Add Visuals and Quotations

The challenge for Related Issue 1 asks you to create a feature exploring connections between nation and identity. The feature will appear in a special Canada Day edition of a magazine for Canadian youth.

In this second skill builder, you will select quotations and visuals for your feature and write captions for the visuals. As you do so, you will hone your written, visual, and media literacy skills.

Step 1: Brainstorm ideas for quotations and visuals

Create a concept web with the headline you chose in the centre. Then add ideas for possible visuals — graphs, photographs, drawings, or other artwork. These can be drawn from other sources, or you can create your own. In addition, add ideas for quotations. These may include ideas about people whose views you would like to highlight.

Step 2: Search for quotations and visuals

Search for quotations and visuals on the Internet, in magazines, in newspapers, in books, or in *Understanding Nationalism*. Or you may create your own drawings or take your own photographs. If you wish to create a table or graph, conduct research to find the necessary information.

Step 3: Choose the most effective quotations and visuals

Asking the following questions can help you decide which quotations and visuals support your position most effectively:

- What message does the visual send?
- Does the message fit my position on nation and identity?
- Does the quotation or visual show a bias? Does it seem to favour one person, group, point of view, or perspective?
- Will this visual help convince readers that my position is worth thinking about?

Step 4: Write captions

For each visual, draft a caption that includes a statement about how the visual supports your position.

Tip for Writing Captions

Effective captions help readers answer 5Ws+H questions: Who? What? Where? When? Why? How?